

The Greeks of Crimea under Genoese Rule in the XIVth and XVth Centuries

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When the first Genoese merchants established their settlement on the seashore of the Crimea, around 1275, there was no more evidence of the rich history of Theodosia, a Greek colony in antiquity, for which a little hamlet, Caffa, had substituted. From the third century the Greek colony had disappeared, if we accept Constantine Porphyrogenitus' statement: in his *De administrando imperio*, the learned *basileus*, dealing with an obscure conflict between tribes in Diocletian's reign, refers to a locality called Caffa and no longer to Theodosia. It means that Byzantium had lost any interest in the domination of the eastern part of the Crimean peninsula, while the western part, with Soldaïa and Chersonesos, until the middle of the eleventh century, was the Byzantine "eyes" toward the moving world of the steppe.¹ The Crimean seashore passed under Cuman control after 1050 and, two centuries later, under the domination of the Tatars, who gave to the Genoese free licence for their settlement.

So, the setting up of Latin colonization was not uniform. It occurred on the one hand in very ancient cities, imbued with long Byzantine traditions—as in Soldaïa, founded in 212,² where the Greek population formed the majority of the inhabitants under Byzantine and then Cuman rule—and, on the other hand, in little townlets, apparent heirs of fallen Byzantine cities, where the inhabitants were very few at the moment of the arrival of Genoese merchants: Caffa, for instance, remained completely unknown from the beginning of the ninth century until the 1270s, when a few Genoese decided to leave Soldaïa, which was under Venetian domination, and to create a new colony on the site of an old Greek city, quite dead, Theodosia, whose name was completely forgotten.³ It is worth noting how much quicker and easier the Latin settlement was in the second case than in the first one.

Unfortunately, the sources are mainly those of Latin origin, more extensive than the notices of the Sugdaïa Synaxarios,⁴ but more peculiar to the Latin people of the Genoese

¹M. Balard and G. Veinstein, "Continuité ou changement d'un paysage urbain? Caffa génoise et ottomane," in M. Balard, *La mer Noire et la Romanie génoise (XIIIe–XVe siècles)* (London, 1989), art. XII, 81–82.

²M. Nystazopoulou, 'H ἐν τῇ Ταυρικῇ Χερσονήσῳ πόλις Σουγδαία (hereafter *Sougdaia*) (Athens, 1965), 11–12.

³Balard and Veinstein, "Continuité ou changement d'un paysage urbain?" 81–82.

⁴Nystazopoulou, *Sougdaia*, 119–37.

colonies in Crimea than to their Greek or Armenian subjects. The account books of the Caffa Massaria register people of Greek origin only in cases when they were debtors or creditors to the government of the colony.⁵ They throw some light on the little clerks, on the soldiers, and also on the down-and-out poor who had been prosecuted and were unable to pay any fine. In comparison, the wealthy people, who had their own notaries and little share in the ruling affairs of the colony, escape our knowledge; the account books preserve only the list of those who had to pay a loan in 1455,⁶ and, through their taxes, are known as shipowners involved in the slave trade between Caffa and the northern seashore of Asia Minor. The notarial deeds, drawn up in Caffa, are relatively poor after the mid-fourteenth century,⁷ but they are valuable insofar as they deal with private properties and give some information about the Greeks' daily life. Set side by side, these different sources allow for some enquiries about the actual number of Greeks among the population of Caffa, the part they played in the political and economic life of the colony, and their personal status with regard to the Latin conquerors.

At the end of the thirteenth century, the Greeks formed the bulk of the Oriental population in Caffa, making up more than 50 percent of the names known from the deeds of Lamberto di Sambuceto (1289–90), and the same proportion a century later, according to the register of the Caffa Massaria for the year 1386: with 267 persons, they overshadowed all the other Oriental groups; but during the fifteenth century, they lost this numerical domination, as is seen in various documents. In 1455, the consul and the treasurers of Caffa wrote to the Protectors of the Bank of Saint Georges, asking for Bishop Giacomo Campora's departure from the colony, as his ardor troubled the Armenian community. According to them, the country was mainly inhabited by Armenians, who were faithful to the Genoese rule and so skillful in business that they brought a great prosperity to the city.⁸ Twenty years later, the prior and the members of the *Officium Monete* admitted that the Armenians represented two-thirds of the population.⁹ In the list of the lenders registered by the Massaria for the year 1455, the Armenians take precedence over the Greek element, which comes before the Jews.¹⁰ It is difficult to explain this demographic shift among the Oriental groups of the Genoese colony, owing to the lack of such a statistical document in the first half of the fifteenth century. Perhaps it can

⁵ Archivio di Stato di Genova (hereafter ASG), Caffa Massaria, 37 registers from no. 590/1225 (for the year 1375) to no. 590/1262 (for the years 1472–73).

⁶ ASG, Caffa Massaria, no. 590/1236, fols. 399a–403a; no. 590/1237, fols. 341a–345b.

⁷ G. I. Bratianu, *Actes des notaires génois de Péra et de Caffa de la fin du treizième siècle (1281–1290)* (Bucarest, 1927); M. Balard, *Gênes et l'Ostre-mer*, I: *Les actes de Caffa du notaire Lamberto di Sambuceto, 1289–1290* (Paris-The Hague, 1973); G. Balbi and S. Raiteri, *Notai genovesi in Oltremare: Atti rogati a Caffa e a Licostomo (sec. XIV)* (Genoa, 1973), 1–184; G. Airaldi, *Studi e documenti su Genova e l'Oltremare* (Genoa, 1974), chap. 1; G.-G. Musso, "Gli Orientali nei notai genovesi di Caffa," in *Ricerche di archivio e studi storici in onore di Giorgio Costamagna* (Rome, 1974), 97–110.

⁸ A. Vigna, "Codice diplomatico delle colonie tauro-liguri," in *Atti della Società ligure di storia patria* 6, fasc. 1, (1868), p. 365. See V. Mik'ayelean, *Hay-italakan armêut'wmmner. Ėrimi hay-galutin verabereal čenovakan vaverat'ult'ner* (Les relations arméno-italiennes. Documents génois sur les Arméniens de Crimée) (Erivan, 1974), 80; M. Cazacu and K. Kevonian, "La chute de Caffa en 1475 à la lumière de nouveaux documents," *Cahiers du monde russe et soviétique* 17. 4 (1976), 497.

⁹ A. Vigna, "Codice diplomatico delle colonie tauro-liguri," in *Atti della Società ligure di storia patria* 7, fasc. 1 (1879), p. 345.

¹⁰ ASG, Caffa Massaria, no. 590/1236, fols. 394a–406b.

be assumed that the growing importance of the Greek principality of Theodoro-Mangoup in the middle of the Crimea from the second half of the fourteenth century,¹¹ and the struggle between its princes and the Genoese in the years 1422–23, spurred a part of the Greek inhabitants of Caffa into seeking refuge in the highlands, away from Genoese Gazaria. In the same period, Tamerlane's ravages pushed some of the Armenian population to settle in the Genoese colonies of Crimea, thus shifting the former ethnic balance.

The distribution of the Greek *ethnos* through the urban area does not correspond to any explicit order. When the *Officium Gazarie* of Genoa, whose duty it was to deal with all the problems of navigation and colonization, settled the new inhabitants of Caffa in 1316, on the occasion of the reconstruction of the city, which had previously been destroyed by the Tatars, the town planners wanted to promote Genoese colonization in the older parts of the city—around the citadel—and to settle the Greeks in the suburbs where their own churches were preserved.¹² But the initial partition between the various communities lost strength over the course of time. In 1381, the Greeks Georgios Chiladici and Callo Iane Vassilao dwelt beside the Genoese Giovannino Negrone, and the Greek tailor Vasili had his home beside the St. Nicolas church, located in the citadel, which was now no longer reserved for the dwellings of the Latins.¹³ In the list of sailors who deserted Giorgio Spinola's and Andrioto de Illice's galleys, the Greeks mentioned in that document lived in the *castrum* as well as in the suburbs (*burgi*) of the city. One of the residential quarters mainly occupied by the Greeks, St. Georges, was situated inside the citadel. In the urban space at the end of the fourteenth century, there is no longer any partition between Latins and Greeks. The settlement policy devised by the Genoese authorities at the beginning of the fourteenth century was never duly implemented, because there were not enough Latins to fill the ancient urban areas in Caffa. The same failure occurred in Chios for the same reasons: the Latins did not succeed in keeping for themselves all the dwellings of the Chian *castrum*.¹⁴

However, the Greeks' subjection is more obvious in the political organization of the ethnic groups of the city: the distribution of the population into hundreds and tens, which coexists with the Genoese denomination of the *contrada*. Greek sailors enlisted by the commune during the Chioggia war, and those who stood surety for them, bear the name of their *contrada* or of their hundred.¹⁵ The Greek tailor Aurani is entitled *capud decenus centanarii* in 1469, and other chiefs of hundreds receive weapons from the Genoese Antonio di Rogerio for the defense of the town gates.¹⁶ The three registers of the Massaria for the end of the fourteenth century mention nineteen Greeks as chiefs of hundreds in Caffa. The institution of the hundreds and tens is directly linked with the military organization of the population for the guarding of the city, and with the partition

¹¹N. Banescu, "Contribution à l'histoire de la seigneurie de Théodoro-Mangoup en Crimée," *BZ* 35 (1935), 20–37.

¹²"Imposicio Officii Gazarie," ed., L. Sauli, in *Monumenta Historiae Patriae. Leges Municipales*, I (Turin, 1838), cols. 406–409.

¹³Airaldi, *Studi e documenti*, 54; ASG, Caffa Massaria, 1374, fol. 28b.

¹⁴Balard, *La Romanie génoise (XIIe-début du XVe siècle)*, 2 vols. (Genoa-Rome, 1978), 313.

¹⁵ASG, Caffa Massaria, 1386, fols. 622a–630a.

¹⁶ASG, Caffa Massaria, no. 590/1228, fols. 394a, 433b.

of the urban space into quarters, as is referred to by the statute of Soldaia (1449).¹⁷ According to this text, the new consul and the *Officium provisionis* of this city choose the chief of the hundred, whose duty it is to appoint for three years the night guards and to give to them the appropriate salary. Although the statute is silent on this matter for Caffa, it may be presumed that the chiefs of the hundreds, who levy a tax called the *introitus mineaticorum*¹⁸ every three months, also held some responsibility in the safeguarding of the city. This social structure, which links the inhabitants to a specific quarter of the urban space, seems to have come directly from Tatar traditions, where the people were divided into tens, hundreds, thousands, and myriads for military purposes.¹⁹ In a country that had been under Mongolian domination for half a century, the Genoese borrowed from the Tatars these traditions which would provide good control over the native population.

With their participation in the guard on the city walls, it is obvious that the Greeks were playing some part in the political and military life of the Genoese colonies in Crimea. Nevertheless, they did not occupy important public offices. There were no Greeks in the consul's *familia*, in the various committees dealing with defense or with the supplies of the colony, nor in the councils which helped the consul of Caffa. On the contrary, we find them as underlings. In Caffa a Greek is appointed as interpreter and in the three colonies—Caffa, Soldaia, and Cembalo—another one is appointed as *scriptor litterarum grecarum*, in charge of the translation of official decrees into Greek and of notarial documents drafted in Greek into Latin, thus enabling their use in court.²⁰ According to the statute of 1449, the Genoese consul in La Copa is bound to rely on two paymasters elected from among the Latins and two others elected from among the Greeks. Four *taxatores*—two elected from among the Latins and two from among the Greeks—would settle the outgoings of the colony.²¹ In Soldaia, two citizens—one of Latin origin, the other of Greek origin—are elected to form the *Officium provisionis Soldaie*, looking after the grain supplies and the water supply for the irrigation of the vineyards.²² Therefore, it seems that Greek participation in public offices was more important in the places where the Latin population was scarce, such as Soldaia, La Copa, and Cembalo. On the other hand, in Caffa, the Latin ruling class gave little responsibility to the Greeks subjected to Genoese power, as it did with the other Oriental components of the population.

Among the 408 clerks or soldiers registered in the book of the Massaria for the year 1410, we count 11 Greeks, that is to say 2.7 percent of the total; 7 Greeks out of 294 clerks or soldiers in 1411, or 2.4 percent; 16 Greeks out of 537 registered persons in 1463, or 3 percent; and 153 Greeks out of 2,050 people for the years 1456 to 1460,

¹⁷ Vigna, "Codice diplomatico," *Atti* 7, fasc. 2, p. 656, 657, 659.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 598, 650. The exact meaning of the word is not known: perhaps a tax for the maintenance of the battlements (*minae*).

¹⁹ B. Vladimirtsov, *Le régime social des Mongols: le féodalisme mongol* (Paris, 1948), 134; G. Vernadsky, *A History of Russia*, II: *Kievan Russia* (New Haven, Conn., 1948), 187–89; B. Spuler, *Die Goldene Horde: Die Mongolen in Russland, 1223–1502* (Wiesbaden, 1965), 294, 333.

²⁰ Vigna, "Codice diplomatico," *Atti* 7, fasc. 2, pp. 608–9, 655. In 1410, Caloiane of Triandafilo is the Greek *scriptor* in Caffa (ASG, Caffa Massaria, no. 590/1227, fol. 324b) and Calioane Casani in Cembalo (*ibid.*, fol. 349b).

²¹ Vigna, "Codice diplomatico," *Atti* 7, fasc. 2, pp. 671, 674.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 656: ". . . duo probi viri . . . qui habeant potestatem et baliā dividendi et dandi aquas inter homines habentes vineas in Soldaia." The water supply seems, therefore, to be linked to vineyards.

or 7.46 percent. They are either *provixionati*, or *orguxii*. Among the *provixionati*, we find guardians of the city gates²³ (*porterii*), bailiffs (*placarii*), and bandsmen, such as *tubetae*, *sonatores*, and *nacarati*, who followed the consul as he moved around the city or proclaimed the beginning of the feasts. The *orguxii* formed a military retinue, which escorted the consul or his substitute (*vicarius*) along their circuits in the Genoese Gazaria: in 1410, a Greek, Carochi, is appointed *caporarius orguxiorum*.²⁴ In Soldaia and Cembalo, as in Caffa, the Greeks played the same role, but it was no wonder that their proportion was greater in Soldaia where, without any doubt, the Latin population was very small: 44 persons enlisted from 1456 to 1460, and only 60 in Caffa, which was much more populated. In this period, a few Greeks were registered as *servientes*, who formed the consul's personal guard, but only one was registered among the *socii*, mercenaries paid by the colony for its defense. But, on the other hand, among the fifty night guards paid by the commune in 1386–87, eleven were of Greek origin. In wartime, the Genoese authorities would recruit Greek sailors for the galleys of the commune: during the Chioggia war (1381), and five years later during the fight against the Tatars of Solgat, the levy was not very popular, to judge from the high number of fugitives registered by the Massaria of 1386.²⁵ It seems, therefore, that the Genoese had little confidence in the military or naval duties of the Greeks, to whom they resorted only in dire necessity or when placed under the control of Latin officers, as in the case of the night guards.

From the social and economic point of view, the Greeks' situation was not so depressed. Some of them played an important part in the growth of the city, in every field, whether agriculture, handicrafts, trade, or financial affairs. The excavations in Soldaia, supervised by Igor Baranov,²⁶ have demonstrated that until the thirteenth century the city was an important center for handicrafts, with jewellers' workshops in the downtown area and on the southern slopes of Mount Pertcheni, with metallurgic workshops by the main gates and by the Virgin church, with potters' workshops in the Soldaia valley and in the small boroughs of Lesnoi, Koutlak, Morskoe, Kanaskaia, and Tchaban-Koula, and, finally, with glass workshops in Dimitraki and by the unnamed tower number 3, where many bracelets have been found. According to these excavations, a guild organization can be inferred before the Latin conquest; characterized by concentrated and highly specialized production, it disappeared when the Christian population of Soldaia was banished after the Tatar conquest of the city, and replaced by slave craftsmen, grouped together in a kind of caravanserai, where forced work would have been the common rule. At the time of the Genoese settlement in the city (1365), the Tatars would have led away the slave craftsmen, bringing about the downfall of all the handicraft production of the city. Though a bit systematic, this interpretation is confirmed by the Genoese documents, which do not allude to any guild of craftsmen in Soldaia, but only to the prosperity of the wine production enterprise. The *Officium provisionis* of the city, constituted of two

²³In 1381, the Greek Paraschia, entitled *castelanus grechus*, is appointed as guard of one of the city towers (ASG, Caffa Massaria, 1381, fols. 39b, 206a), while in 1410 a certain Theodorus is *portarius* of the Caihadoris gate.

²⁴ASG, Caffa Massaria, no. 590/1227, fol. 246a.

²⁵ASG, Caffa Massaria, 1386, fols. 622a–630a.

²⁶I. A. Baranov, "Les métiers de l'artisanat et le commerce à Soldaia" (in Russian), in *Communications présentées au Congrès international d'Etudes byzantines*, I, Moscow, August 1991, pp. 11–13.

probi viri, one Latin and one Greek, had to assess on the vineyards the so-called *embelopaticum* (from the Greek ἀμπελόπακτον). This tax on the production of the vineyards appears as the only one paid by Greek winegrowers in Soldaia and in the little villages of the Gothia, where Abram Gentile is in 1381 buyer of the levy of the *ambelli apatiti fructus vinearum de Locorso et Lobochocho*.²⁷ The water supply, quoted in the statute of 1449, is also linked to wine production, dominated by the Greeks, according to the statement of Iohann Schiltberger, who traveled in the Crimea at the beginning of the fifteenth century.²⁸

We know more about the Greek craftsmen and traders in Caffa, owing to the information provided by the notarial deeds and the registers of the Massaria. In the list of the occupations given by the register of 1386,²⁹ we find Greeks as caulkers, shipwrights, blacksmiths, and arrow and bombard makers. Many of them are occupied in the textile industries, as spinners, tailors and weavers, and in the transformation of local products, as furmongers and chandlers. In the retail trade, one-third of the shopkeepers from the bazaar bear a Greek name. Among the lists of persons sentenced to pay fines by the consul, we find two hatters, two smiths, one tailor, one barber, and one innkeeper.³⁰ The most important document concerning the occupations of the Greeks is, without any doubt, the list of those who had to pay for a loan assessed by the commune in 1455:³¹ it gives the scale of the people's fortunes and also their various occupations. The document bears 102 names, out of which 58 give a hint as to occupations; they are given as follows: Molinari, 8 names; Cotonerii, 5; Linarolii, 5; Capelerii, 5; Fabri, 4; Candelarii, 3; Tabernarii, 3; Tinctores, 3; Censarii, 3; Filatores, 3; Bazarioti, 3; Macelarii, 2; Sartores, 2; Tornatores, 1; Piscatores, 1; Clavonerii, 1; Stivalerii, 1; Ferrarii, 1; Fornarii, 1; Pelliparii, 1; Botarii, 1; Revenditores, 1.

It is clear that only the wealthier among the Greek craftsmen or shopkeepers appear on the list. Nevertheless, it corroborates the fact that the Greeks found occupations mostly in the transformation of agricultural products or in the textile handicrafts. A coordination between various crafts is suggested by a short passage of the statute of 1449, which places the shipwrights, the caulkers, the joiners, and the *masachani* (bricklayers)³² under the power of a *protomastrus*.³³ But among the Greeks, there is also a fair group of tradesmen, linked to official brokers (*censarii*), and native notaries, whom the Genoese authorities treat with some contempt. In 1449, the statute of Caffa denounces the excesses of the Greek scriveners, "ydioti et ignari ac inepti ad eorum officium recte fiendum." In the future, ten notaries, elected along with the best scriveners by the consul

²⁷ ASG, Caffa Massaria, 1381, fol. 14a; V. V. Badian and A. M. Ciperis, "Le commerce de Caffa aux XIIIe-XVe siècles" (in Russian), in *Feodal'naja Tavrika: Materialy po istorii i archeologii Kryma* (Kiev, 1974), 186. From the text it can be assumed that the Greeks, whether landowners or lease holders, paid a tax on wine production.

²⁸ Vigna, "Codice diplomatico," *Atti* 7, fasc. 2, pp. 656–58; J. Buchan Telfer, *The Bondage and Travels of Iohann Schiltberger, 1396–1427* (New York, 1970), 49.

²⁹ ASG, Caffa Massaria, 1386.

³⁰ ASG, Caffa Massaria, no. 590/1227, fols. 33a, 86a (for the year 1410); no. 590/1229, fol. 42a (for the year 1420); no. 590/1261, fol. 141a (for the year 1473).

³¹ ASG, Caffa Massaria, no. 590/1237, fols. 341a–345b.

³² N. Calvini, *Nuovo glossario medievale ligure*, Civico Istituto Colombiano (Genoa, 1984), 233.

³³ Vigna, "Codice diplomatico," *Atti* 7, fasc. 2, p. 680.

and the councils, would be granted the right of drawing up deeds, perhaps in the *logia Grecorum* quoted in 1472,³⁴ deeds with full legal value.³⁵ These deeds have not been preserved, so it is not easy to determine the part played by the Greeks in the economic life of the colony. If the Latins, and more particularly the Genoese, had full charge of the international trade between the Black Sea and the West,³⁶ the local trade was carried on by Oriental businessmen. Sergej Karpov has drawn attention to the case of a Greek priest from Soldaia, Papa Manoli, owner of a cargo of fish and wheat set on a Turkish *griparea*, valued at 5,000 aspri.³⁷ It is likely that the Genoese traders used the Greeks' services in order to bring the local resources of the Pontic shores to the great *emporium* of Caffa.

But there is a particular field in which Greek businessmen were very active: the slave trade, which is well known thanks to the accounts of the officers of Saint Antonius in Caffa, who had under their control the taxes assessed upon human cargo. From 1422 to 1457—the slave trade dwindled after the fall of Constantinople in 1453—it is possible to list 122 slave traders, among whom are 22 Greeks, that is to say 18 percent of the merchants. These Greeks are not only from the Crimea, but also from Trebizond, Sinope, Samastri, and Simisso. For instance, in 1411, Nichita and Nicolla of Callogrea, Iane Cheserad of Trebizond, the Greek Syrachus from Sinope, and Caloiane de Gaudefreo from Samastri join with Genoese traders in carrying slaves to the southern shores of the Black Sea, with their *naves*, *navatae*, *navilia*, and *barchatae*. A certain Chiriaco Velata seems to have been among the great slave traders: master of a cargo ship, he carried 84 slaves in spring 1411, 10 in October 1422, and 125 in October 1425, all from Caffa to Asia Minor.³⁸ Here, Sinope can be considered as “plaque tournante” of the slave trade, in the direction of the Ottoman lands. After 1425, the participation of the Greeks gradually falters, and it disappears after 1447, to the profit of Muslim traders.³⁹

In the financial life of the Genoese colonies, the Greeks did not come to the fore. In Caffa the system of taxation was based upon the bidding of the levy of indirect taxes. A large group of farmers shared in the bidding. During a century, from 1374 to 1473, only three of them were Greek, and they appeared among the farmers listed in the last years of the Genoese domination. In 1459, Vaxillis de Janachi bid for the mint of Caffa and offered 12,550 aspri, a modest amount of money compared to the sum bid for the *commerchia* of Caffa. Three years later, the same Vaxillis was bailing a Genoese who was bidding for the *cabella ihegatarie granorum*.⁴⁰ In 1459, and then again in 1460, a *burgensis Caffae* Antonius Tatoli—the Christian name is Latin, but the surname Greek—bid for the *cabella ponderis et scaliatici*, which rested upon the use of weights and measures and upon anchor-

³⁴ASG, Not. Cristoforo de Rapallo seniore, filza 14, doc. 13.

³⁵Vigna, “Codice diplomatico,” *Atti* 7, fasc. 2, p. 677.

³⁶M. Balard, *La Romanie génoise*, II, 717–868.

³⁷ASG, Archivio Segreto, 1789, Litterarum 13, fols. 12b–13a, quoted by S. Karpov in his lecture “Les Bourguignons en mer Noire au XVe siècle. Présentation de documents inédits,” presented at the conference “Méthodes d'expansion et techniques de domination dans le monde méditerranéen, XIe–XVIe siècles,” Toulouse, May 1991; to appear in print as *Coloniser au Moyen Age* (forthcoming).

³⁸ASG, Caffa Massaria, no. 590/1227, fol. 22a; no. 590/1230, fol. 9b; no. 590/1232, fol. 14b.

³⁹See my lecture at the Symposium byzantinon of Strasbourg, November 1992, “Esclavage en Crimée et sources fiscales génoises au XVe siècle” (Strasbourg, in press).

⁴⁰ASG, Caffa Massaria, no. 590/1240, fol. 171a; no. 590/1242, fol. 100a. In Caffa, the officer called *ihegatarius* was in charge of the food supply (Calvini, *Nuovo glossario medievale ligure*, 198): the tax was therefore levied upon the grain supply.

age at the wharves and the unloading of ships: the second aspect of this tax corresponds to the Byzantine *scaliatikon*.⁴¹ The third farmer, Christofforus Narixi, whose Greek origin is not certain, bid for the tax collection of the *stazia vini* in 1466 for 4,000 aspri, and some years later, gave bail for two Genoese.⁴² In a few words, the Latins had full charge of the taxation system in Caffa and only exceptionally allowed the natives to intrude into their fruitful business.

Some foreign Greeks were interested in the financial life of the Genoese settlement. In 1412, the famous Nicolas Notaras, who has handed his account book down to posterity,⁴³ was owner of 100 sommi in the loans of Caffa, and of 300 sommi in the group of creditors called the *compera locorum 24 noviter imposita*;⁴⁴ this participation in the loans of Caffa enhanced his investments in the various *compere* of the Commune of Genoa. Another banker or usurer is said to have lent 100 sommi, at a rate of 13 percent,⁴⁵ which was not very expensive for that period.

The loan raised by the Genoese authorities in 1455 upon the Oriental *ethnoi* indicates the scale of fortunes among them.⁴⁶ One hundred fifteen Armenians had to pay 75,746 aspri, that is to say an average of about 660 aspri each; one hundred two Greeks were taxed at 31,070 aspri, an average of 305 aspri each, and 50 Jews at 29,950 aspri, that is to say 600 aspri per person. We gather that the Greeks' wealth was comparatively less than that of the others, though it may be possible that the Jews had to pay heavier taxes per person than the others. And it would be even less, when we discount the higher rate of taxation, 5,000 aspri paid by a Greek called Marcus de Auria, who was probably a dependent of the famous Genoese clan (*albergo* Doria). After him comes a certain Theodorus of Demur, with 2,000 aspri in cash, and a Greek dyer, Constantinus, with 1,000 aspri, followed by other craftsmen such as dyers, tailors, and smiths.

At the end of the Genoese domination, we discover among the wealthier Greeks, the two sons of Marcus de Auria, Micali and Manoli, who sold a shop located in the citadel in 1472, for the high price of 6,000 aspri. The buyer, Demetrius of Telica, was Teodorca of Telica's son, who had lent about 40,000 aspri in 1461 to the lord of Theodoro-Mangoup, and granted a heavy *commenda* of 300 sommi to Lodisio of Pietrarossa.⁴⁷ We know very little about the Greek properties in Caffa: the inventory of Calo Iane Zazelli's estate in December 1381 includes two shops and two warehouses near the Christ's gate, together with a long list of silken goods, of table linen and house linen, and of various precious stones and bracelets.⁴⁸ These few documents reveal Greek families enjoying good social conditions, and who cooperated with some Genoese businessmen with whom they shared the same interests.

In the lower ranks of the Greek community the evidence is scant. The registers of

⁴¹ H. Antoniadis-Bibicou, *Recherches sur les douanes à Byzance* (Paris, 1963), 134–35. On Tatoli, see ASG, Caffa Massaria, no. 590/1240, fols. 38b, 118a.

⁴² ASG, Caffa Massaria, no. 590/1247, fol. 111b; no. 1256, fol. 119b; no. 1259, fol. 83a.

⁴³ Balard, *La Romanie génoise*, I, 347–49.

⁴⁴ ASG, Caffa Massaria, no. 590/1263, fols. 31a, 66a.

⁴⁵ ASG, Caffa Massaria, no. 590/1259, fol. 48a.

⁴⁶ ASG, Caffa Massaria, no. 590/1237, fols. 332a–350b.

⁴⁷ ASG, Not. Cristoforo de Rapallo seniore, filza 14, doc. 257, 17. See Musso, "Gli Orientali nei notai genovesi."

⁴⁸ Airaldi, *Studi e documenti*, 80–82.

the Massaria preserve the lists of the down-and-out poor, assessed for fines by the consul, or indebted to the Massaria. In 1410, out of 17 names, 7 were Greeks; in 1420, 13 out of 39; in 1465, 15 out of 100; in 1472, 15 out of 117 names. Also among the condemned persons, there was Demetrius de Telica, one of the wealthiest members of the Greek community. Some inventories drawn up in the years 1381–82 by the notary Nicolo de Bellignano include nothing but a mere bench, for a symbolic value of one aspro.⁴⁹ In 1472, the Greek Nichircha died, leaving no heir. According to the Genoese law, her estate was handed down to the local government. As a tenant of an Armenian, this poor woman had left a little ring in pawn to a Jew and a chemise to a priest, both things worth 50 aspri. Her estate, coming under the hammer, brought in 613 aspri to the commune.⁵⁰ Of the same lower rank were the poor Greeks who in 1371 bought for 7, 8, 10, or 15 asperi worn garments from Nicolo Bosone's estate.⁵¹ Between them and Demetrius de Telica, the contrast of fortune does not need to be underlined.

The sole factor of unity comes from religion. At the beginning of their domination, the Genoese authorities seem to have been very cautious in this matter. In 1316, the *Officium Gazarie* showed due consideration toward the Greek churches in Caffa when preparing the reconstruction of the city. But on the other hand, in the midst of the fifteenth century, Genoese bishop Giacomo Campora disturbed the authorities, owing to his untimely zeal for his church. Therefore, the statute of 1449 forbids the Catholic bishop from interfering with the affairs of the Greeks and Armenians, which would give rise to the depopulation of the city.⁵² The same text records the grant made by the consul to the Greek priests who on the feast of Epiphany usually came to the consul's palace to sing "Calimera."⁵³ This grant, repeated on Easter Sunday, is always recorded in the account books of the Massaria. However, in spite of this civility, the Greeks suffered from the awkwardness of the authorities who left the Greek see in Caffa vacant. Joined with the depopulation, with the economic crisis in the last years of the Genoese domination, and with the briberies of officials, the religious crisis following the rejection of the Union of the Churches (after 1453)⁵⁴ gave rise to a general passivity in the face of the Ottoman conquest.

The position of the Greek *ethnos* in Crimea under Genoese rule is not completely different from other Greek communities subjected to Latin domination in the eastern Mediterranean. In Chios, as well as in Crete, the Western rulers tried to establish links with the Greek elite, to handle the Orthodox Church with tact, but also to elicit the highest profit from the work of the countrymen and of the craftsmen.⁵⁵ If a small minority among the Greeks had shared with the Genoese the profits of Latin domination, it is nevertheless obvious that the bulk of the Greek community, perhaps attracted by the principality of Theodoro-Mangoup, could not join forces with the Genoese for the de-

⁴⁹ Ibid., 87, 90.

⁵⁰ ASG, Caffa Massaria, no. 590/1261, fol. 117a.

⁵¹ L. Balletto, *Genova, Mediterraneo, Mar Nero (secc. XIII–XV)* (Genoa, 1976), 218, 220, 222, 223.

⁵² Vigna, "Codice diplomatico," *Atti* 7, fasc. 2, p. 631.

⁵³ Ibid., 618.

⁵⁴ K. M. Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant (1204–1571)*, II (Philadelphia, 1976).

⁵⁵ Ph. P. Argenti, *The Occupation of Chios by the Genoese and Their Administration of the Island (1346–1566)*, 3 vols. (Cambridge, 1958); M. Balard, "Les Grecs de Chio sous la domination génoise au XIV^e siècle," in *ByzF* 5 (1977), 5–15; F. Thiriet, *La Romanie vénitienne au Moyen Âge* (Paris, 1959).

fense of Caffa, “*Ianuensis civitas in extremo Europae.*” Once more, the process of colonization collapsed in Crimea; as in Constantinople, the Greek people were ready to accept a new domination—the Turkish turban rather than the Saint Georges’ cross of Genoa.

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